1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Yazidis MA50

or furniture. The use of such vegetables as cabbages and lettuces as food is also rigidly prohibited among them. Like the Moslems, they hold Jesus (*Isa*) in great reverence, and regard wine as the symbol of His blood. When drinking it they always hold the cup with both hands to avoid spilling its contents, and should a drop fall to the ground they are said to suck it with the lips and swallow the dust with which it has mingled. The Yezidis and Kûrdish sectarians are, indeed, generally said to be less hostile to Christians than to Moslems, and it is averred that, though they never enter an Armenian church, they often stop when passing one and repeat some prayer or invocation.

A curious form of confession and penance is also practised by these "infidels." Ten men form themselves into a kind of brotherhood, and select one of their number by lot as a scapegoat. If any one of the number is guilty of a grave sin, he confesses it to this substitute, who must vicariously expiate it by prayer, fasting, and mortification. In return for this service he is supported by the rest, who perform for him all his worldly duties, pasture his sheep, and maintain his family.

The sacerdotal order of the Yezidis is very numerous, and is divided into castes, which do not intermarry with each other, and thus are kept permanently distinct. The office of Sheikh Nâsir, or High Priest, is hereditary in one family, and generally descends to the eldest son. This hierophant is, like the Dervish Sheikhs, believed to be endowed with supernatural powers, and his skill is resorted to, not only by his

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of his hole, he looks about for the Wolf, but, not seeing him, he ventures forth, and seizes the gourd, which he ties to his tail. By-and-by he goes to the fountain, and, his tail hanging over the side, the gourd falls into the water, and the Fox, in his efforts to pull it out again, tumbles in himself. 537

The transcriber of the next story, M. Jaba, suggests that "Sări-Salté" must have been an old Crusader, who knew of the existence of the treasure, and had come from Europe, disguised as a dervish, to secure it. I venture, however, to think it much more probable that he was the famous warrior-monk, Sări-Saltík, one of the Moslem "Saints" who took part in the Ottoman Conquest, and of whom many extraordinary legends are related by the Turks.[1] 538 171

The Armenian and the Dervish.[2]

An Armenian named Sătir once lived in the town of Begiriv, which is situated in one of the *kazas* (districts) of Van. One day a wandering dervish was passing through the town, and received hospitality in the house of this Armenian. By the will of Allah, this dervish, whose name was Sări-Salté, fell sick, and remained a long time confined to his bed in the house of his host, who, with his wife and all the people of his household, took the greatest care of him. Every possible attention was paid to the dervish Sări-Salté. 539 286

[1] Some of these legends are to be found in the *Narrative* of Evliya Effendi, published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Among other feats the saint destroyed a seven-headed monster, and delivered a king's daughter whom he was about to devour. He is said to have travelled about from country to country, borne over the sea on his dervish's sheepskin mat.

[2] *Recueil de Notices et Récits Kourdes*, p. 94.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 In about two months the dervish got well and re-
216 covered his strength. One day he said to Sātir, "Get ready by to-night a sack, a cord, flint and steel, a candle, and some matches. Have all these things in readiness, for we are going somewhere. Thou hast put thyself to much trouble for me, and it is but right that I should do thee a good turn."

The Armenian, Sātir, got ready the sack and the other articles mentioned by Sāri-Salté, and, as soon as it was night, he and the dervish took them, and left the town. At an hour's distance from Begirlv, near the village of Kūrzūt, on the top of a hill, are the ruins of a castle, which dates from the time of the Infidels (*i.e.*, the Christians), the architecture and walls of which are very ancient. The dervish Sāri-Salté and the Armenian Sātir penetrated together into the interior of the ruins.

The dervish said to Sātir, "Knowest thou why I have led thee hither?"

"I know nothing about it, thou only knowest," replied the Armenian.

539 Then the dervish revealed to him that in the centre of this fortress, which has remained from the times of the Infidels, a treasure lay hidden. "I am going," he said, "to remove the spell which guards it; we will enter, and thou shalt take some of the gold. But utter not a word." After this caution to Sātir, the dervish pronounced some words, when a noise, accompanied by an earthquake, was heard within the walls. A few moments afterwards a door opened, and both entered the treasure chamber. Sātir lighted a candle, and saw indeed a large room where gold and coins of

although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow.

The villagers and Bnishir fashion almost nothing which has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will be seen more completely with reference to Rowanduz, indigenous crafts are single and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the upper part of the town of Rowanduz, the only craftsmen of their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs. The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although the women preferred the more familiar spindle and

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a single brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowandus and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowandus, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and water, qv, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

bazar of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both townspeople and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 40. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in dress-making (Cf. p. 82). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

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Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawelle the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchads.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *dêll*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but

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used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstretched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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production of knotted carpets with dyed yarn I had no opportunity of observing as they are not made in the area I visited.

Weaving was done on two different types of loom, *tiwan*, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The verticle type is a Penelope loom and, as Poul Andersen[76] stresses, is not so much a cohesive implement as an "arrangement" carrying a vertically-hung warp. The device is placed in front of a wall in the work room, which in the two cases I had an opportunity to study this type of loom, was the windowless storeroom of the house, the light being obtained from the door. The room also contained clay corn silos, sacks with wool, a sitting hen and so forth. The loom consists of two man-high, barked, irregular tree trunks, *kalaka*, ending at the top in a fork. They are placed at a distance from each other of about 1.50 m. At the top they lean against the ceiling, and at the bottom each is planted in a built-up clay cone. These two side poles carry a transverse bar, *sir-dir*, over which the warp, *pu*[77], is hung, and below, inserted into two holes just above the clay cones, another transverse bar, *Sir-dir*, to which the lowest part of the warp is attached by a rope wound round the pole. The vertical interval between the transverse bars is about 2.80 m. The warping board for the arrangement of the warp before it is hung up on the loom, consists only of two wooden sticks, about 2.80 m. distant from each other, stuck into the ground in the courtyard[78] outside the room. On them the weaving yarn is wound. Here two women work together. The warp is then lifted off the sticks, and tied to the loom. In order to be able to distribute the threads of the warp regularly on the upper bar, the weaver ascends a scaffold between the loom and the wall. This consists of two forks about 1 m. high planted in clay cones. They carry a transverse stick roughly 1.40 m. long on which the woman can move backwards and forwards. The shaft, about 1.60 m. long, is suspended in front of the warp by strings fastened to the forks of the two side poles. When every other warp thread has been attached to the shaft by means of the heddles, the former is pulled forward to form the shed, and 2-3 cloth slippers are stuck in at each end between the side poles and the shaft to ensure that the shed is firm. The shed-stick, *pa?-gurd*, is a thin bamboo stick about 1.50 m. long inserted into the warp above the shaft. During weaving the shed stick is moved whilst the shaft is secured. Only when the weaving, which begins from the bottom, necessitates it, is the shaft loosened by removing the slippers, the suspending strings shortened, and the shaft tightened again. The passage of the ball of wool that introduces the weft is prepared by a long iron needle passed horizontally in between the threads. A shuttle is not

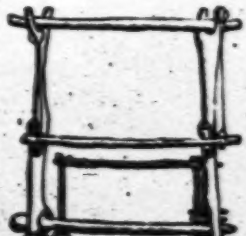

Fig. 41. Construction of the vertical loom. Two man-high trunks planted in clay cones and carrying two horizontal bars for the warp. In front hangs the shaft. Behind: a scaffold upon which the woman ascends to hang up the warp.

4: Hansen F.-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 used with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kāltit*[79].

[191] This vertical loom, known also from Armenia[80], is used for the making of the plain-woollen rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedclothes during the day. One such rug (E. 2253), measures 1.48 m. × 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *xārī* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *frāt*. This type of loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver in each village. At Topzawa the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family and [589] kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village. The loom in the twin village of Rakawa was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whom she lived, was the village *mexādr*.

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[191] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[81]. According to Ling Roth[82] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in the Rowanduz district[83], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tawella (E. 2249a–v). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor forms a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, as certain parts of the loom, such as the warp-beam, the raddle-beam, a stand that swings back the sley-reed, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground, whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counterheddle and sley reed hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook in the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be loosened, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[84].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows: Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or breast-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.43 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The cloth- or breast-beam, 0.735 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-reed can be swung towards the weaver. The sley[85] is a rectangular frame 0.89 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, *šāna*, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-reed is inserted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-reed when this is released by the weaver. The sley-reed is suspended from a rope 2.80 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-reed, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lowest transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.25 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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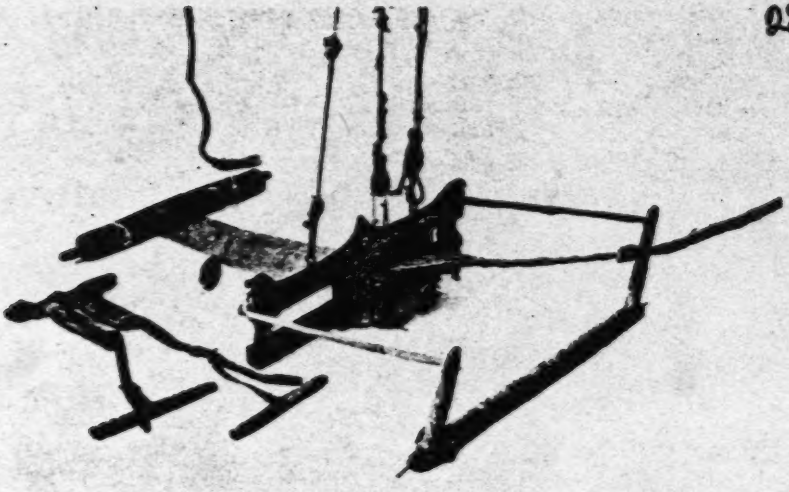

Fig. 42. Transportable parts of the horizontal pit-treadle loom (E. 2249a-v). Left: the breast-beam. Beside the warp lays the shuttle. Centre: the sley-reed, the heddle and counter heddle. Right: the stand that swings the sley-reed. The treadles with leather straps are spread out in front.

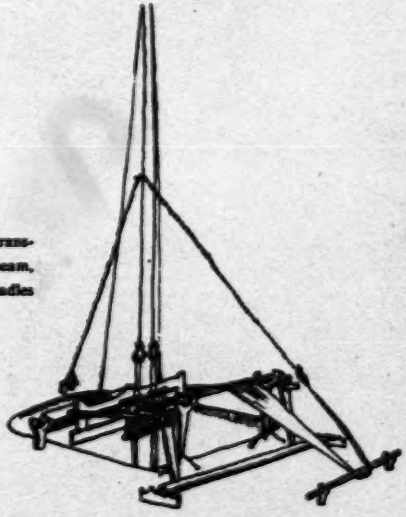

Fig. 43. Construction of the horizontal pit-treadle loom. The transportable parts (cf. fig. 42) have been supplemented by raddle-beam, warp-beam and two small uprights for the breast-beam. The treadles hang down into the pit.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 and every other lowered, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the woof. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the raddle-beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a fixture in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened at will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The woof is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *makδ*, (E. 2248), 0.165 m. long, containing an iron spool, *lûla*, round which the yarn is wound[86]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kerâre*, (E. 2251), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (Sargalu) on 17 forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Sargalu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkha.

286 [962]

e done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). fter the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers 12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of s width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. he wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched ut to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp leats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

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he production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type re sold in the *sāq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various ings, including butter.

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The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking ater into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local ay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of pecially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-haped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[87]. They are then polished side and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions n the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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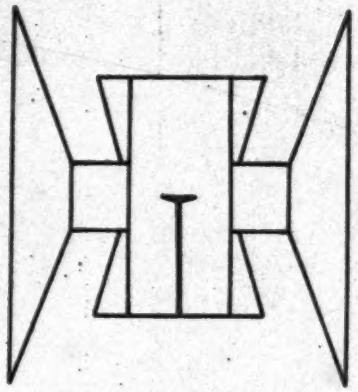

Fig. 72. Diagram. Cut of man's white cotton shirt (E. 2314). (Cf. cut of woman's kirtle fig. 61).

291 the forearm like a broad, folded white band[44]. Wedge-shaped pieces of material are let into the sides of the shirt. These are 0.19 m. broad at the bottom and end at the top with a square gusset sewn to the armpit. The cuffs, so characteristic of Kurdish men's dress, could be loose, independent elements of pure silk or nylon on sale in the *sāq* of towns like Sulaimani or Halabja, and used in conjunction with a shirt of European pattern in order to retain this typical Kurdish feature even after European elements have made their entry into the dress of men.

Drawers, *dirpyr*[45], (E. 2315) are made of close-woven white cotton material. In cut they are bag-shaped breech-cloth trousers[46] of the same type as those typical of Turkish male dress[47]. However, from the point of view of cut they vary. In the middle of the bag, a rhomboid of material is cut out, turned 45 degrees, and then sewn on again as a gusset (see diagram). By so doing the drawers are given tapering legs whilst the great breadth around the hips and posterior is retained, a shape Edmonds calls "peg top cut"[48]. The width at the top is 2.00 m. and each leg, 0.95 m. long, is 0.40 m. wide. The drawers have a casing at the top with a tape running through it that gathers the fullness around the man's waist. These drawers are peculiar in that, as noticed by Chardin as early as 1711[49], they are quite closed having no fly in the front.

[435] The outer garment, is "a suit", *rihit-o-čāqā*[50], consisting of jacket and trousers made of the same material, home-woven woollen[51] cloth, price about 2½ din. = £2/10/0. Such suits can be purchased ready-made in the *sāq* and, as mentioned, appeared in two different types typical of the Sulaimani and Rowanduz areas, respectively.

[286] Trousers, *rihit*, from the Sulaimani district (E. 2316b). The material is woven of goat's wool, dark-brown, light-brown or yellowish-white. The weaving breadth is only 0.165 m., and the trousers therefore consist of 12 lengths of material sewn together. Before being sewn the material is folded together and boiled (cf. p. 55), so that each length of material obtains two sharp longitudinal creases which,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Admal*, (E. 2254)-of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60×1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 96.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2254). Topzawa.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Juynboll[6], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3–8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

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The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 6 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9–10 p.m.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 ($250 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

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Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to effect the basis economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

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In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different commoners, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind*

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Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Walash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Hayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

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* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowandus and Erbil.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Where possible the driving water is obtained by diverting some main stream. This is done at Haupurdan, Hayat and Merga and the operation of the mill then has no effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the cultivation on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some friction arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good kicking from the Agha for cutting the dyke during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hastily thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a near relative of the Agha. In Haupurdan it is the Agha himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the Agha. The terms are in effect that the owner of the wheat hires the mill at a fixed charge for each sack of corn ground. The man who owns the wheat himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The millowner merely obtains a rental for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with up-to-date apparatus in the towns, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the trouble involved in carrying the wheat to Rowandus and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In outlying districts at any rate then the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Weaving

"The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the cloth loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "beater in" suspended from a rigid rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 10½ inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. Thus from specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trouserings of commoners, has Warp 19; Weft 22 threads

"The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not considered here since its social relevance seems insignificant.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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402 per inch; while a good quality coloured cloth such as worn by Aghas has
• 286 Warp 44; Weft 28 threads per inch.

As mentioned already the village weaver, where there is one, now
462 has to face serious competition not only from the cloth dealers of the
178 town but also from certain large scale weaving concerns in Rowanduz and
286 Erbil. The latter still use the ordinary Kurdish looms but seem to be able to produce a better quality product than the village craftsman. The difference may be due to the fact that the town craftsman uses a mechanically spun thread, whereas the village weaver in the main works with a hand spun article. But there is no definite tradition that the town made material is superior. The clothes worn by the Mir while I was in Dergala had been made from local cloth, his son Jelal, on the other hand, had purchased the stuff for his new blue trousers in Rowanduz. My impression is however that with the ever increasing facilities for contact with traders from the town the functions of the village weaver will soon become superfluous and the community will become completely dependent upon outside sources in yet one further respect.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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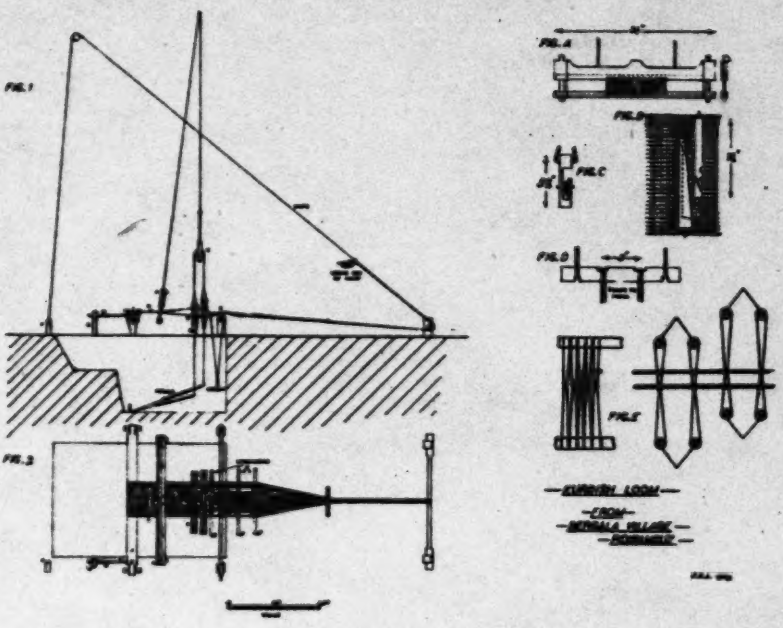

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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The Kurdish Loom

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The Kurdish Loom illustrated on the opposite page has not, so far as I can discover, been described in detail before. *Ling Roth mentions the Hindu Pit Treadle Loom as a variation of the Horizontal Narrow Band Treadle Loom but does not describe it. The Kurdish Pit Treadle Loom, here shown, is similar to that used in Central Mesopotamia except that the latter has the sley slung from a rigid rectangular framework thus allowing of a wider warp.

Taken in conjunction with the photographs (unfortunately blurred owing to overexposure) the diagrams opposite should be more or less self explanatory.

The weaver sits in a pit beneath the loom. He operates the heddle mechanism with his feet by means of a treadle and works the shuttle and sley with his hands.

Fig. 1 is a section through the loom and Fig. 2 is the corresponding plan. Portions of the apparatus marked A.B.C.D.E. in small letters are shown in larger scale in the subsidiary figures to the right of the diagram. The scales for figures A.B.C.D. are as indicated; Fig.E is diagrammatic only.

Fig.A shows the sley (reed, beater in). As can be seen it can be readily taken to pieces. The comb of the reed is not rigidly attached to the batten frame but runs freely in grooved slots indicated by the dotted lines. This prevents the warp being 'dragged' on one side if the weaver fails to pull the sley quite straight.

The woof (weft) on the finished cloth immediately behind the shed is kept taut by the device shown in Fig.B. I am unaware of the English technical term for this device. It can be seen in position in one of the photographs. It consists of two pieces of wood, each with a steel needle at one end, joined together with string at the other. By adjusting the length of the string the two pieces can be made to form a rigid bar of variable length. The diagram shows the pieces in position on the cloth before looking one inside the other.

Fig.C shows one of the two pulley blocks supporting the heddle rocker.

Fig.D shows one of the bars from which the pedal straps are suspended; it appears in cross section in figure 1 at the point D.

Fig.E shows (diagrammatically) the way the warp threads are threaded through the leashes of the heddle. Note from figure 1 that both heddle and counter-heddle are double, the odd threads passing through both sets of leashes on one side of the rocker and the even threads through those of the other. I did not obtain precise details of how the leash strings are knotted and looped.

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The finished cloth is rolled on the square sectioned breast beam (J). This is held in position by the rod H which fits into one of four holes in the sides of J and is hooked under the fixed ground peg F. To adjust the warp the rope is freed at F, and H and J can then be adjusted at will. It should be noted that for convenience F.G.H. have been shown in Fig.1 as well as in Fig.2 though they are positioned on the weavers right hand side as indicated in the plan. 402 2860

There are three spreaders (lase rods), the front one of which is in front of the raddle beam K. This last is held down by the weight shown in figure 1; this prevents the spreader slipping forward into the heddle mechanism and prevents the warp 'bouncing' on K. Without this device the rear spreaders would require constant adjustment.

The raddle beam K is slightly grooved on the top face so as to keep the threads in place; it serves the same function as the spreaders - that of keeping the warp threads taut and spread out. Its occurrence is unusual in primitive loom designs.

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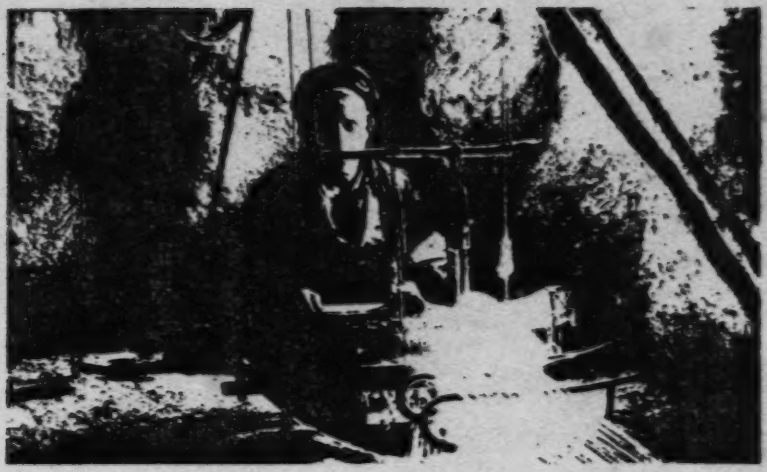

Plate 13.
Loom. (For comparison with diagrams.)

Plate 14.
Loom. (For comparison with diagrams.)

[Opposite page 74 - E]